

Russia Looks to Her Two Big "K's" to See Her Through

HAS Russia been saved from collapse? The news dispatches from Petrograd and the editorial commentators answer this vital question in conflicting and rather uncertain language. While the retreat at the front continues, the political crisis is temporarily, at least, settled, largely due to the efforts of the inimitable Alexander Kerensky. When he realized that the negotiations between the Socialists and the Cadets (Constitutional Democrats) for a coalition government were doomed to failure, Kerensky made a sudden and totally unexpected move. The Petrograd correspondent of "The Christian Science Monitor" reported it as follows:

Off for Russian Conquest



German Militarism—"Like this I shall be irresistible!"
—From L'Asino.

facilitated the action of Nekrasoff, acting Premier, who convened a meeting of the parties and of the Duma, the Council of Workmen and Peasants, which eventually reached an understanding on the basis of mutual concessions. Confidence was also expressed in Kerensky as the only man of sufficient authority to carry on the government of the country.

Kerensky then returned to power clothed with greater authority than ever before, and began organizing a Cabinet representing the various elements of public opinion. "The New York Evening Post" commented as follows on the new ministry:

"The reorganization of the Kerensky Cabinet, with the participation of the Constitutional Democrats or Cadets, raises hope for that reestablishment of national unity which is a greater need for Russia than even the restoration of army efficiency. The two problems are indeed inseparable. Until there is a firm government at Petrograd representing a clear majority of the progressive forces of the nation there can be no effective counter measures to the anarchic military propaganda of the Leninists. The Constitutional Democrats in the new Cabinet are not the best known heads of the Cadet party, but the point is that the latter has pledged its support to the new government after prolonged deliberations in which the most resolute of the opponents of the extreme Socialist doctrine, namely, Paul Milukoff, took part."

The New Cabinet Does Not Quite Meet Demands

In The Tribune Isaac Don Levine said of Kerensky's latest attempt to save Russia: "The newly reorganized Russian Cabinet comes nearer to representing current national opinion than its predecessors, but still it does not meet the demands of the hour, and is far from being the strongest possible government to-day for Russia. The length of its life will depend on the developments at the front. It may guide Russia safely till the Constituent Assembly meets, if the Russian army regains its striking power. On the other hand, it may be quickly wrecked if the Teutons continue to advance."

"Russia is in the grip of a reactionary wave, the result of the military disaster in

Galicia. This wave, by the nature of things, can either recede or rise. Continuous military disintegration means the triumph of reaction, while a successful offensive against the Teutons would restore the prestige of the radicals. The new Cabinet by itself can hardly arrest the spread of reaction. It may only retard its progress."

The Russian daily "Russkoye Slovo," published in New York, took a more optimistic view of the new situation. It wrote: "The ministerial crisis in Russia is settled not only satisfactorily, but very happily. The government has really called into its service all the positive and creative forces of the nation, beginning with the Council of Workmen and Peasants and ending with the Executive Committee of the Duma. It includes Social Democrats, Social Revolutionists, Liberals and Cadets."

"The new Cabinet is a strong, influential and genuine coalition ministry. It is composed of the best representatives of organized, radical Russia. Popular and free Russia cannot but believe in its genius and follow in its path."

Korniloff's Acceptance and Its Conditions

While order was being evolved out of chaos in Petrograd, the retreating front began to show signs of steadiness. The plucky General Korniloff was given the post of commander in chief, held by Brusiloff, to restore organization in the army. He accepted it on the following conditions, which he telegraphed to Kerensky:

"First, I wish to be responsible only to my conscience and to the people.
"Second, no one shall intervene in my fighting orders and appointments.
"Third, the measures adopted during the last few days at the front also shall be applied at the depots in the rear."

Of Korniloff's services and methods the Russian correspondent of "The London Morning Post" called the following: "Korniloff's prompt severity has saved all that was worth saving in the armies at the front. The first corps to set the example and lead the general exodus from the fighting lines was the corps d'élite of Guards from Petrograd. Their commander, General

Maevsky, was among those who received Korniloff's order to fire upon deserters and failed to carry out his orders. Korniloff, in strict accordance with justice, sent Maevsky before the court-martial for disobedience of orders, and he was sentenced to be shot."

Eternal



The Russian Revolution failed to affect these specimens—the materialist, the idealist and the scientist.
—From Novy Satirikon, Petrograd.

Russian history has thus a new precedent, for never before has the commander of a Guards corps undergone such shame."

The Russian Embassy's view of the crisis was summarized by a Washington correspondent in these words:

"Russia now looks to her two big 'K's'—Kerensky and Korniloff—to lead her out of military and internal disorganization to stability and triumph. Kerensky wields supreme power in the administrative branch of the government, while Korniloff has been vested with absolute control of the army."

Both men now have the entire support of all the Russian political parties."

The Provisional Government "Stronger Than Ever"

Decidedly optimistic as to Russia's future are those who have just returned to this country from there. The Root commission has brought back nothing but encouragement, while Charles M. Boynton, president of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, is even more emphatic in his expression of confidence in the New Russia. To a newspaper correspondent he said:

"The Provisional Government in Russia will endure and come from its recent serious political contention stronger than at any time since its establishment, is my confident belief."

"Premier Kerensky is the man of the hour—not that he is more courageous, more self-sacrificing and more capable than many others in his Cabinet, but because, from his position in life before the revolution, he is trusted by both the army and the people not to betray them."

"Do not forget that the Russian people won a bloody revolution in 1905, only to have the fruits of their victory taken from them by unfulfilled promises. This time there is no intention that there shall be a repetition of these events, and, therefore, the revolutionary party is suspicious of almost every one. I believe that Premier Kerensky has formed a coalition Cabinet which will have the support and respect of 75 per cent of the Russian people, the other 25 per cent being composed of antagonistic political parties of extreme anarchistic and counter revolutionary tendencies."

Not Fair to Judge the Russians Too Harshly

A striking view of the Russian crisis is taken by "The New York Evening Mail." In a searching analysis of the causes underlying the Russian military collapse that paper says editorially:

"It is not fair to place the blame for the Russian collapse entirely upon the Russian people or on their leaders. It is not fair to

say that they were not ready for democracy. It is not fair to say that they are not fighting well because they are too ignorant to fight except under the despotic lash of a master. The trouble with the Russian people is that great masses of them have been convinced that they are being made to fight for something more than ideals."

"When the revolution was complete, new Russia, the Russian army, was ready to fight as never before, for liberty, freedom, democracy. Russia asked that the war aims of the Entente powers be limited to these things alone. She asked that her allies subscribe to her programme of peace with no annexations and no indemnities—but peace made only with a free Germany, not an autocratic Germany. The diplomatic blunder of the war has been the failure of England, France and Italy to back up Kerensky and the other Russian leaders in their campaign against German propaganda in Russia, propaganda which claimed that the Allies were trying to serve both God and mammon, talking democracy and planning territorial conquest. The Russian collapse to-day is a monument to the lack of vision in the diplomacy of Western Europe."

"Why, free Russia would have fought against autocracy as free France fought against it in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Against the young French republic were broken the imperial armies of every autocratic power in Europe, intent upon crushing this infant challenge to the divine right of kings. A French republic prevailed, for it fought for a new ideal in the world—Liberty, equality, fraternity."

A Programme Based Upon "Peace Without Victory"

"Russia, reborn as a republic, rejected the territorial aims of the Czar. She disclaimed desire for Constantinople and Armenia, declared for a peace without annexations and without indemnities, and announced that she would not fight for conquest for any country. She called upon the other allied countries to meet and revise their war aims on lines that she laid down. Russia had the right to expect, particularly from the United States, immediate support of her position. Her programme was based upon our peace without victory formula."

"We never gave the aid that Russia had the right to expect. The Root commission had no mandate to assure the Russian idealists that we are with them. France and England sent to Petrograd equivocal messages, with indefinite promises of some future meeting to discuss the Allied war aims. The Italian semi-official press even intimated that Japan would spring upon free Russia's back if she dared turn back from pursuit of the aims to which the deposed Czar had consented."

"It is now three and a half months since Kerensky and his compatriots turned to their allies in vain. Entente folly was German opportunity. A great German propaganda in Russia has grown and thrived upon the refusal of diplomatic support to the Russian government. The idealists who wanted only 'peace without annexations and indemnities' and the overthrow of German autocracy—these idealists have had to admit themselves unable to bring the other Entente powers to the Russian viewpoint. Pacifists and German propagandists in Russia say, unconsciously, that the Russian people are being driven by their government to fight for annexations and indemnities, not for themselves, but for others. That is the whole trouble with Russia to-day."

Back to the Cage?



—From The Louisville Times.

India and Russia

THE question of the Russian revolution's effect upon the people of India is raised in the English "Review of Reviews," and commented upon in the following manner:

"No one in this country has troubled to gauge the effect that the triumph of freedom in Russia has had upon the Indian mind. No elaborate attempt is, however, necessary to ascertain the result. The Indian press is full of articles and notes on the revolution, and, though they are written under the shadow of a Draconian press act, they tell us enough. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor of 'The Modern Review' (Calcutta), writes:

"All men and women in India who have heard of the revolution in Russia understand its meaning and know what a vast range of peoples it will affect for the better; they will have their minds filled with longings for political betterment, and with a conviction that they themselves are not unfit to exercise political power and rights. One of the arguments used by our opponents to prove India's unfitness for home rule is the large number of races, speaking different languages, which inhabit India. The list of races inhabiting Russia is an answer to this argument."

"The editor of 'The Modern Review' makes it clear to his people that they should continue their agitation in a constitutional manner and preserve the British connection intact. To quote him:

"Intelligent, well informed and thinking Indians will not think that there can be or ought to be a revolution in India like the one which has taken place in Russia; for the circumstances of the two countries are different. But, whatever the circumstances of a country, one thing holds good everywhere—nations by themselves are made. If we would have the rights of free men, let us be ready with the devotion and self-sacrifice which political betterment requires. The Russian revolutionaries have succeeded in spite of, not because of, the crimes and bloodshed and assassinations rightly or wrongly associated with the revolutionary movement. We must shun all criminal methods. We must avoid the mistakes of the Russian leaders. We must keep the British connection intact. But we must be inspired with the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Russian leaders. They gave away everything for the sake of service to the motherland. Are we ready with the offering of our time, energies, fortunes, careers?"

"Mr. Chatterjee reminds the British statesmen that their phrases about the rights of nations to free political institutions apply to India as much as to Russia, Belgium and Serbia."

Does Elihu Root Know Russian?

By no means. But the knowledge of English is so widespread among the educated classes of Russia that we begin to understand the reports about the enthusiastic reception of our ambassador's eloquent addresses by his audiences in Petrograd and Moscow.

There is not a notable play or novel produced in London which is not acted or read in Russia. The Russian intelligentsia knows not only French and German, but also English history and literature thoroughly.

Gytha, the daughter of King Harold, who was slain at Hastings (1066), through her marriage with the Russian Prince of Tchernigoff laid the first foundation to the close relationship between Great Britain and the empire of the Czars. The real English "discoverer" of Russia is, of course, Richard Chancellor, who, through his voyage to Moscow in 1553, established solid commercial connections between the two countries.

And why should we not be reminded, on this occasion, of the interesting fact that Peter the Great's mother was brought up in a Scottish household?

Root Comes Home to Report on Russia's Future

On Being Wounded

A WRITER in "The New Witness" (L. H.) contributes the following interesting commentary on the sensations of wounded soldiers:

"By the time the clearing hospital is reached, by continual bumping and jolting about, there is an intense desire for rest, for that spotlessly white bed which has bulked so largely in his active service dreams. Peace, however, is not yet; the wound is dressed, and via more stretchers one is pushed onto an ambulance train for the base hospital. Another strand is interwoven; the significance of one wounded man when in the grip of a system which handles the unending stream of casualties with the indifference of a universal store."

"There are walking cases and stretcher cases, and on each man is pinned a large luggage label, designating him concisely and accurately. As such he is pushed on and off stretchers, dumped in odd corners of drafty railway stations, stacked in rows on ambulance trains, but all the time nearing an increasingly vivid England. These journeys sometimes last nearly twenty-four hours, there accordingly follow interminable conversations, which arise easily enough when each member of the party carries on his person the wherewithal to cause interesting discussion. The formula is unvarying:

"Where did you get it?"
"Left leg."
"Here the questioner usually says, 'No, I mean what part of the line?' 'Oh! Monchy,' and the rest is easy. Never before came so strongly the feeling that this eager mutual handing over of small change is not indulged for the sake of the little facts that one learns in the process; it is a reaching out, an adult substitute for the action of children who walk securely hand-in-hand. To the sick man it is the greatest sedative he has."

"All this time the pain theme has, so to speak, been given out in a subdued manner by the double bass, but when the white bed is finally attained and the excitements of the journey are fading, with the rapidity with which, for the patient, all impressions seem to fade, it begins to be announced with more insistence."

"Then begins that alternation of exaltation and depression which is so bewildering to recall afterward. There is a timeless element in it; so that when in pain there seems to exist for one only the pain already suffered and that inevitably to come. And when the leg has ceased to throb or the daily dressing is happily over, the mind wanders over all the pleasant things of the past and anticipates the future peace of impending convalescence. In each state the other appears inconceivable—it is as if one were changed suddenly from a black bishop, moving freely about the black squares of the chessboard, into a white one, for whom blackness does not exist."

"Wounds, however, quickly grow less painful, and the ordinary case is in a week or so ready to be transferred to England. Again, there is the mixing of ambulance trains and boat with men of all regiments and with as many different kinds of wounds. Curiosity about one another is unabated; again I have to explain either that I was wounded in the leg or at Arras—according to the demands of my questioner. At last—submarines permitting—one reaches Victoria. This should be tremendous, but by this time one is too limp to do more than purr appreciatively. But the spectacle of taxicabs, parks, delightful old gentlemen who raise their hats at the sight of the ambulance, is quite unforgettable. Arras seems inconceivably remote. Then the stretcher for the last time, and one is in an English bed."

"Thus I arrived on the first spring day of 1917, and was turning on my side thankfully to sleep, when from the opposite bed came the question:

"Where did you get it?"
"With a feeling of sinister foreboding I made a desperate choice."

"At Arras."
"Not now," he said, "I mean . . ."
"It was probably inevitable."

headed by Elihu Root, returned home last week after several adventurous weeks in the revolutionary Slavic republic. In spite of the fact that the Russian extremists assumed a decidedly hostile attitude toward the Root delegation, Mr. Root is optimistic as to Russia's future. The reception accorded to the mission in Russia was, however, not very enthusiastic, according to the Petrograd correspondent of "The New York World."

Mr. Root, who is accompanied by Mr. Dorsch-Fleurbaey, writes:

"When the American commission arrived in Russia I was away down in the Ukraine, headed northward from Rumania, and the first comment on it that I heard was made by a soldier filling his teapot at a hot water boiler at a wayside station. Filling mine for me before filling his own, he remarked: 'I see that your capitalistic government has sent a bourgeois commission to Russia.'"

"He did not mean any offense. He was a very amiable and polite boy, full of revolutionary pater. I suppose I should have been flattered, as he evidently considered me no bourgeois."

"But why do you call mine a capitalistic government?" I asked. "Was not President Wilson the first to formulate peace without annexations or indemnities?"

"That's true," he admitted, "but America is capitalistic, and there are rich men on the commission."

No Doubt That the Commission Was Bourgeois

"The commission sent to Russia was unquestionably bourgeois. Outside of Charles Edward Russell, there were no Socialists, but all established, successful men, playing their part in the established 'socialistic' social order of the United States. Even Duncan, although a labor official, is, according to this point of view, a part of the capitalistic order."

"Ours was the only government to send a similar mission to Russia following the revolution. The French sent some socialistic deputies, headed by Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions, the leader of French Socialists since Jaures was killed. The British sent labor leaders with strong socialistic inclinations. Belgium sent Vandervelde, de Bruckere and de Man, all Socialists of international fame. But whatever the President's purpose in picking the men he sent to Russia, they were quite conspicuously not Socialists, and the Russians, whose mental agility is quick enough, needed only to see them to know it."

"The retirement of Bethmann-Hollweg, it appears, was not the conclusion, but the beginning of the Kaiser's political troubles. The appointment of Michaelis as Chancellor left the German people in the dark as to the future course of the German government. But his subsequent choice of ministers for his reorganized Cabinet clearly enough indicated the nature of the new administration."

When Dr. von Kuehlmann succeeded Zimmermann as Minister for Foreign Affairs there was still hope that a new era might be inaugurated in the German governmental system. But the full list of new ministers dispelled all such illusions. The Berlin "Tagblatt" thus commented:

"It cannot be denied that the events occurring in our internal politics lack historic dimensions, as compared with our present military achievements. The great German nation, which is the only 'Kultur' people in the world, exercises neither direct nor indirect influence in the selection of its servants."

"The present reorganization of the govern-

"They had, however, more intimate information about them. The part of the Socialist party in New York which remained hostile to the United States going to war with Germany also took pains to send to Russia, by letter, cable and personal emissaries, very hostile reports to the commission. So the commission arrived to find the ground prepared against it."

Handled as Though They Were So Many Eggs

"Even the Provisional Government, feeling itself none too strong with the controlling socialistic forces, handled the commission as if it were a basket of eggs."

"Wherever the members of the commission went they were feted by organizations of various kinds, most of which dated from the days before the revolution. But the raw vital forces that have sprung up with the revolution, conspicuously the Councils of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies, left them alone. Admiral Glennon, going to Sebastopol, had a quick enough wit to see that the sailors controlled everything there and made the whole town his own within a day, but that was accidental and due to the Admiral's own personality. I might add that this lone incident left a lasting impression on the Black Sea fleet, and shows what good, democratic Americanism can do in Russia."

The Commission Returned Full Of Faith in Russia

The commission arrived from Russia via a Pacific port. At a banquet in its honor the following day, Special Ambassador Root said:

"We bring back from Russia the greatest sympathy and the greatest admiration for that young democracy, now struggling to solve problems within a few months that this country has been struggling to solve for 140 years—and has not solved. We bring back the kindest feeling and the greatest respect for the Russians; for their high degree of self-control; their ability for concerted action. We bring back an abiding faith that this great, free, self-governing democratic government shall be maintained intact."

"In Russia, almost within sound of the guns, I think we got a little nearer to the truth in this great war upon which our country has embarked; a deeper realization that the people of the United States appreciate. We see now why all the world is at war. We see that for centuries we have been building up a structure for civilization. We have fondly believed that the world was growing more humane, more just. We have

believed that the old, dark days of tyranny and cruelty were passed away, and that the nations of the earth had entered into a solemn, covenant to keep alive those divine principles under which we propose to live."

"I would not have the people of this country misled in regard to the various uprisings in Russia. From the various press reports from that vast country the people of America would be inclined to believe that there was constant turmoil there. This is by no means the situation. If the startling headlines of happenings all over this country and nothing else were flung across the Pacific for the benefit of the Russians, they would gain an impression of the United States similar to the one that we here are obtaining of Russia. It is the exceptional thing in Russia that we hear about, not the daily occurrence."

"If we consider the amount of territory there you will agree with me that these occurrences are not at all exceptional for a country which has a population of 180,000,000, the territory of which covers one-sixth of the globe, under one form of government. I have the greatest confidence in the ability of the newly established government to work out its own salvation. It is the quality of character of the people of a nation which tells. We here in America have those characteristics so essential to a nation. They, too, have those characteristics which fit them to accomplish that great purpose which the recent revolution made possible."

"If World Democracy Survives, The Russian People Will Rule"

Charles Edward Russell, the Socialist member of the commission, said:

"Be of good cheer in regard to Russia. If democracy survives in the world the people of Russia will rule."

Mr. Root, while in Chicago, on August 7, made a number of interesting comments on the latest developments in the Russian crisis. A dispatch to "The New York Herald" quoted him as follows on the subject of the retreat of the Russian army, which has proved so keen a source of depression here:

"That is another of the things which seems more disastrous to us than it does to those in Russia. The Russian retreat by no means indicates the ultimate defeat of Russia. It is only one of the many natural results of a gigantic revolution."

"You must remember," said Mr. Root, emphasizing his words by tapping his right forefinger into the palm of his left hand,

"I saw them in Petrograd as they were leaving for the front, and a finer lot of soldiers I never beheld."

"Let the men of Russia, and of America, too, look to the heroic women fighters, and they will hang their heads in shame that women should have to spur them on in this manner."

"It seems a terrible thing that women should have to go out into actual battles, but it is still more terrible and shameful that they go only because the men need the inspiration which their actions furnish."

"This war is being fought for a principle which in itself should furnish enough stimulus to make the men do their best. And especially in Russia. Yet the women find it necessary to get out and do actual battle to shame the men."

"I saw the Command of Death march away from Petrograd. It was one of the most inspiring sights that I have ever seen to see those women, some of them slender young girls, with their cropped hair and ugly uniforms, go away to do the work of men. They marched as befitting their name, for they knew no fear."

"I should not be surprised if the American women could do the same thing as time goes on. American women are just as capable and noble as the Russian, when the call comes. And I would not be surprised if it should and we would have the same thing as in Russia—women giving their blood on the battlefield."

A dispatch from Chicago, printed in The

described as follows his fearless and vigorous attack against the government:

"Philip Scheidemann, Socialist member of the German Reichstag, in a speech delivered at Mannheim, Baden, before 6,000 people, demanded in the interest of peace the speedy substitution, for the present government of Chancellor Michaelis, of a government really representing the will of the German people."

The American press was just as quick to perceive the nature of the Berlin changes. "The New York Sun" warned:

"Americans will be wise not to attach too much importance to the wholesale changes in the German Cabinet. Except as indicative of a certain amount of political unrest, they are probably without much bearing upon the conduct of the war."

"The Kaiser may have swapped horses while crossing a stream, but the United States had better figure on the probability that he did it in order to get a better mount for Hohenzollernism."

"The New York Herald" said:

"The first thought that will occur to most readers is that the changer is a confession to the world that affairs in Germany are

going very badly. Lincoln's famous remark about the peril of swapping horses while crossing a stream is often quoted by Prussian writers, and the Kaiser to-day is struggling with an irresistible stream that is sweeping him to destruction."

"A Marionette Cabinet" is how "The New York Times" characterizes in a sarcastic editorial the Michaelis government:

"When the great German 'crisis' was grappled with so grandly by Chancellor Michaelis, he met the demand for peace by declaring that Germany would accept only a victor's peace, and that with that understanding he had no objection to the Reichstag's adopting a resolution declaring for a peace without conquest. Germany was to get what she would get by 'forced acquisitions,' only she was not to call it a process of 'forced acquisition.' As for the demand for democracy, he met that by proposing to give the political parties some government jobs, provided they were accepted on the clear understanding that their holders should have nothing to do with the direction of affairs, which was to remain in the hands of the Kaiser and his servants."

"The Root commission was an American commission, not a peripatetic anarchist group. America is not a socialistic republic, moreover. The Socialists en masse make up only an insignificant part of the population, while the extremists among them are a smaller, if noisier, group, composed, for the most part, of aliens of the Berkman-Goldman type, still unnaturalized after long years of residence, and who exercise all the privileges of a free country but to abuse them and flout the very kindly government that lets them do as they please. For Washington to have been stampeded by this grotesque gentry would have been an abnegation of incredible stupidity, false and misleading, and fraught with grave menace to the cause of Russia and to our own."

"But no such mistake was made. The situation was well understood here, though it is, of course, clear that, even though a small group, these mischief-makers were able to spread the poison of their childish suspicions of the ablest and best we have among the illiterate Russian 'riff-raff,' as the Duma calls them, who are palsying the efforts of what passes for a government in Petrograd."

"As bad as things are in Russia, it is more than likely that the Root commission will be able to point out how much further the disorders, inevitable in the breakdown of all authority, must go before the more moderate and equally patriotic elements get the government well in hand and bring the country to its senses. License has one virtue—it usually is its own cure when it adopts assassination as its daily practice, and in this cold comfort lies the hope for a saner day for Russia in fever and ferment, to say nothing of the effect the enemy 'at the gate' will have if the German drive toward Odessa shall succeed."

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